

# **MASTER OF ARTS IN NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS**

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## **KARABAGH CONFLICT AND ITS EFFECTS ON TURKEY'S ROLE IN THE CAUCASUS**

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**Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-December 2001**

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This thesis examines the Karabagh conflict between Azerbaijan and Armenia and its implications on the Caucasus regional security in general and Turkey's role in particular. It investigates the causes of the conflict from a theoretical, historical and practical view and evaluates the role of the various international actors in the conflict. This thesis also traces the role of oil and oil politics in resolving the conflict and contrarily examines how the conflict affects the development of the oil in the Caucasus region. This study concludes that the Karabagh conflict and the ensuing events eroded the Turkish role in the Caucasus and created a situation prone to instability and renewed violence. This study provides specific recommendations for Turkish foreign policy makers to enhance the stability in the region without sacrificing Turkish interests. Recommendations include increased relations and engagement with Iran and Russia and the further containment of Armenia until a dramatic change in its attitude is observed.

**KEYWORDS:** Karabagh, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Caspian Oil, Turkish Foreign Policy, Caucasus

## **TURKEY'S RESPONSE TO THREATS OF WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION**

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Unlike most of its NATO allies, Turkey did not emerge from the Cold War with enhanced security. The acquisition of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and ballistic missiles by its neighbors in the Middle East—Iran, Iraq and Syria—creates a serious security concern for Turkey. This thesis analyzes the numerous threats posed to Turkey by its neighbors' nuclear, chemical and biological weapons programs and their ballistic missiles. It evaluates Turkey's defense options to counter these threats and examines the credibility of NATO's security guarantees, including the nuclear guarantees the United States provides under NATO auspices. The thesis concludes that Turkey must acquire the capabilities to deny adversaries the benefits of these weapons. These capabilities—including passive and active defenses as well as improved counterforce means—will enable Ankara to strengthen deterrence and provide an effective defense should deterrence fail. Improving its preparedness for WMD contingencies should be an urgent, new priority for Turkey. The Turkish Armed Forces should have the necessary capabilities to fight, survive and prevail in NBC environments. In addition, NATO's security guarantees, which hinge ultimately on the U.S. nuclear presence and U.S. extended deterrence commitments in Europe, and Turkey's own national defense and deterrence posture, must remain convincing to Turkey as well as to the WMD-armed states that threaten Turkey.

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**KEYWORDS:** Proliferation, Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD), NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization), Deterrence, Counterproliferation, Counterforce, Missile Defense, Active and Passive Defense

**AN HISTORICAL SURVEY OF THE BRITISH MANDATE IN PALESTINE 1920-1948:  
POLICIES CONTRIBUTING TO THE JEWISH/ARAB CONFLICT**

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This thesis analyzes the British Mandate in Palestine 1920-1948. It examines the significance the British placed on their continued involvement in the Middle East following World War I, and the inherent contradictions that were a result of three separate agreements, each initiated to distribute lands previously ruled by the Ottomans. The British inability to reconcile the promises they made to both the Zionists and the Arabs, combined with their Mandate administration policies, shaped the Jewish/Arab conflict that has continued until the present day. The influence of the Zionist lobby on British leadership resulted in policies that favorably biased the Jewish population in Palestine. Additionally, Arabs disadvantaged themselves by refusing to participate politically with Jews, while Jewish leaders embraced opportunities to establish political institutions. Arab standing was further disadvantaged by British reaction to political violence displayed in response to British policies. The Jewish leadership capitalized on every opportunity to consolidate power, while the Arabs missed opportunities by remaining politically fragmented and unwilling to compromise.

**KEYWORDS:** British Mandate, Palestine, Jewish/Arab Conflict, Zionism, Middle East, Israel

**COLOMBIA'S ECONOMIC RECESSION: THE IMPACT OF GUERRILLA VIOLENCE,  
ILLICIT DRUG TRAFFICKING, AND THE 1991 CONSTITUTION**

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In this thesis, we argue that Guerrilla violence is the most important variable that impacts Colombia's economy in 1999, causing severe internal and external migration. Kidnapping, extortion, terrorism, and infrastructure attacks represent the loss of million of dollars in economic damages. The illicit drug trafficking is the second most important variable that has affected Colombia's economy, causing an economic domestic boom during the period of the drug-cartels, which infiltrated the economy with money laundering and fictitious business, and finally the 1991 Constitution, the third variable, established many new economic responsibilities at the state level, which aggravated the state fiscal crisis. The separation of taxation and spending between different levels of government has fueled severe problems of fiscal imbalance, because the bulk of tax revenues is collected by the Central Government but spent at municipal levels.

**KEYWORDS:** Colombia, Guerrilla, Drugs, 1991-Constitution, Economy, Crisis, Damage, Recession

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### **AMERICAN MIDDLE EAST POLICY: INCREASING THE THREAT TO U.S. FORCES IN SAUDI ARABIA?**

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The seeds of the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and Pentagon were planted over a decade ago when Iraqi tanks rolled into Kuwait on August 2, 1990. The Iraqi invasion set into motion a series of events that intensified U.S.-Saudi security commitments and led to the first ever large-scale deployment of American troops on Saudi soil. A decade after Desert Storm, over 3,500 U.S. troops remain in the kingdom to enforce the southern No-Fly Zone. The September attacks emphasize that our continued military presence and political policies in the Middle East are objectionable to both regional regimes and the larger Muslim community. Deteriorating regional support for Iraqi sanctions and increased international desire for economic relations with Iran make America's military presence appear hegemonic and self-serving. This thesis explores the unintended consequences, or "blowback," of U.S. Middle East policy on American forces deployed to Saudi Arabia. It does this by examining how Islamist militant's ability to attack U.S. military targets within Saudi Arabia increases under Saudi economic reform efforts and our policy of Dual Containment.

**KEYWORDS:** Islamic Fundamentalism, Islamists, Islamic Militants, Saudi Economic Reform, Dual Containment, Iran, Iraq

### **THE EVOLUTION OF A JAPANESE THEORY OF CONFLICT MANAGEMENT AND IMPLICATIONS FOR JAPANESE FOREIGN POLICY**

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**Michael A. Turner, Alliant International University**

This thesis explores whether there is a uniquely Japanese method of conflict management. Given the delicate balance of stability in Northeast Asia, Japanese leadership needs to use conflict management tools to resolve territorial claims with the governments of China, Russia, and South Korea. Given its desire to be a world leader, peaceful settlement of these disputes can enhance Japan's image in the world.

Japanese leaders, in the pre-modern era, had adapted Confucian principles of consensus building, order, and harmony to ensure peaceful coexistence. In an effort to be like the West in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, late Tokugawa and early Meiji leaders began to copy western ideas concerning what it meant to be a nation which included claiming territory and even going to war to maintain sovereignty interests. In the post-World War II era, Japan was able to return to a more "harmonious" existence and by dealing with its territorial disputes through economic means. Japanese policymakers developed its current foreign policy based on pre-19<sup>th</sup> century ideals mixed with western realism.

**KEYWORDS:** Asian Diplomacy, China, Conflict Management, Cooperation, Decision Making, Foreign Policy, International Relations, Japan, Russia, South Korea, Territorial Disputes, United Nations

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### THE POTENTIAL ROLE OF THE PHILIPPINES IN U.S. NAVAL FORWARD PRESENCE

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This thesis argues that the U.S. Navy should attempt to re-establish a presence in Subic Bay, Republic of the Philippines, because Subic Bay offers the best base from which to support U.S. Naval forward presence in the Asia-Pacific region. With the shift of defense focus from the European to the Asia-Pacific region, and the current "War on Terrorism," the problem of finding more secure bases for U.S. Naval forward presence has increasingly become a problem. Four main arguments are used to support this thesis: The Philippines served as the linchpin of U.S. Naval forward presence for almost a century. Second, the Philippines, especially Subic Bay, offers the best basing arrangements in the Asia-Pacific region potentially available to the U.S. Navy. Alternative options, such as U.S. territory of Guam, the countries of Australia, Singapore, Thailand, Malaysia, Vietnam, and the Mobile Offshore Base, present problems of a geographic, political, security, or technical nature. Third, it will suggest that the strategic and political considerations that led to a U.S. departure from the Philippines in 1992 have changed with the increasing assertiveness of the People's Republic of China, the destabilization of Indonesia, and the Islamic insurgency that affects several southern islands of the Philippines. Finally, the benefits of a U.S./Philippine rapprochement far outweigh the disadvantages.

**KEYWORDS:** Naval Forward Presence, Asia-Pacific Region, U.S.-Philippines Relations, Philippine Islands, Subic Bay

### MAKING A U.S.-INDIA STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIP WORK

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A new strategic relationship between the United States and India is inevitable. Even before the 11 September 2001 attacks, the Bush administration was striving to improve relations with India. After the attacks, this action has become a U.S. priority. India, too, is devoting unprecedented energy to improving relations with the United States.

Both countries are now courting each other. The United States wants a strategic partner that is capable of assisting the United States to achieving its international and regional objectives. It seeks a regional partner that can help the U.S. armed forces protect and preserve peace and security by providing bases, logistical support and, when required, combat support. India wants to be acknowledged as a regional power, as a nuclear power, and to more actively participate in global affairs, without sacrificing sovereignty. The two countries have pursued a strategic partnership before but the results have been failure and heightened resentment. Will this time be any different?

This thesis examines the prospects for an enduring U.S.-India strategic partnership. It analyzes the history of U.S.-India relations, and describes the conditions that impeded the development of strong relations between the two countries. It describes the negative impact of Pakistan and Kashmir on U.S.-India relations. It demonstrates that a new reality, based upon capability and cooperation, has replaced the Cold War reality of power and bloc alignment, and why that bodes well for the future of U.S.-India relations. It also recommends that the U.S.-India Defense Planning Group and its subsidiaries are revived; the Memorandum of Understanding be reviewed and simplified; and the Joint Working Group on Counterterrorism is enhanced.

**KEYWORDS:** India, United States, U.S.-India Relations, Foreign Relations, Military-Military Cooperation, Strategic Partnership, U.S.-India Strategic Partnership, South Asia

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### **DETERMINING INSURRECTIONARY INCLINATIONS AMONG INDIGENOUS PEOPLES OF ECUADOR**

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This thesis argues that Ecuador has historically excluded the indigenous peoples economically to the point where they experience the highest levels of poverty in the country. The indigenous people have been tied to their land and current economic policies are endangering their communal property rights and their way of life. Also contributing to that inequality is the political exclusion they experience. Without effective representation, social programs have been cancelled at will and economic policies and reforms are implemented without debate with those they most affect.

With this last wave of democratization, the indigenous people of Ecuador are now highly organized. They have changed their image from one of subservience to the traditional political and economic elites to one of activists demanding the government uphold its constitutional mandate while increasing the indigenous peoples own rights to self-determination. The combination of these three factors creates potential for further violence. The governments pursuit of oil-led development and its damaging effects on the economy and environment will clash with the indigenous peoples desire to maintain their culture and way of life. The violence stemming from the insurgency and large flows of illegal money in neighboring countries only increases the likelihood of Indian political violence in Ecuador.

**KEYWORDS:** Ecuadorian Indigenous Populations, Political Violence in Ecuador, Ecuadorian Politics

### **EUROPEAN UNION: US HEGEMONIC COMPETITOR**

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In this thesis, it is argued that the European Union is an emerging U.S. hegemonic contender, since 1973. The emergence of Europe as an economic, now political, competitor to U.S. hegemony has become apparent by the European Union's assertion of economic and political authority in regional markets, in which both the United States and the European Union compete. This thesis graphically compares U.S. and EU performance in regional markets and suggests the emergence of EU economic and political strength in the face of U.S. decline within these regional markets. With the European Union's emergence as the second largest world economy, this thesis stipulates that the United States must initiate new policies to preclude the loss of U.S. leadership to the European Union within regional economic and security structures. The revision of U.S. policy will have great implications for U.S.-Transatlantic relations and U.S. influence in both international and regional politics.

**KEYWORDS:** Intergovernmentalism, Supranationalism, Interdependence, Hegemony

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### THE SOURCES OF CONFLICT IN THE EUPHRATES-TIGRIS BASIN AND ITS STRATEGIC CONSEQUENCES IN THE MIDDLE EAST

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This thesis contends that the potential for conflict over water is enormous since freshwater resources are finite, unevenly distributed, and often shared by more than one country. However, given its importance for basic survival, industry, energy production and other fundamental components of society, water can also become a reason for cooperation as parties in water-scarce regions join together to manage this crucial shared resource.

The Euphrates-Tigris basin is one of those regions, where equitable and reasonable distribution of water is at the heart of the dispute among the riparian states of Turkey, Syria, and Iraq. In the basin, the disparities among riparian countries are wide and some are already faced with constraints in meeting domestic water demand owing to physical, socio-economic and political factors. This thesis argues that the predominant factor that contributes to the conflict in the Euphrates-Tigris basin is the domestic concerns of each state rather than an overall shortage of water resources. Furthermore, this thesis demonstrates that although the rhetoric about a water war among the riparian states of the Euphrates-Tigris rivers has been popular in the last decade, it seems unlikely that the water conflict will lead to an all-out war.

**KEYWORDS:** Middle East, Euphrates, Tigris Rivers, Hydropolitics, Domestic Political Concerns, Domestic Economic Concerns, Foreign Policy, Regional Stability, Instability, National Interests, Turkey, Syria, Iraq

### SECURITY OR POLITICS: THE RETURN OF THE GOLAN HEIGHTS

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The aim of this thesis is to analyze the role that domestic politics plays in the decision making process of the leaders of Israel and Syria with regard to returning the Golan Heights.

Many argue that the core issue of returning the Golan is purely military, relating to the security buffer the occupied territory provides to Israel's northern settlements. While holding the high ground is still a key military tenet when evaluating terrain, Israel's security rationale for keeping the Golan Heights holds little credibility, as demonstrated by former Prime Minister Ehud Barak's readiness to turn over all but 200 meters of the Golan to Syria during the last round of serious negotiations between both countries.

It is argued that for each side the return of the Golan Heights is not a bilateral security issue between Israel and Syria but is instead an internal domestic matter. The return of the Golan depends on a political decision-making process within each country more than it does on military concerns.

**KEYWORDS:** Israel, Syria, Golan, Security, Domestic Politics

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### **FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA: THE EMERGENCE OF THE 'NEW MACEDONIAN QUESTION' IN THE REMAINS OF SECOND YUGOSLAVIA. SURVIVABILITY OF THE NEW POST-COLD WAR STATE IN THE BALKANS**

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The recent (2001) crisis inside the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM) concerning its Albanian ethnic minority did not come as a surprise to the southeastern European as well as the international security chessboard. It had nearly been predicted from the first years of the new state's independent life, and confirmed by most analysts during and after the war in Kosovo (1998-99).

This thesis will examine the survivability of the small post-cold war Balkan state, in relation to the historical background of the 'Macedonian Question,' the so-called 'Macedonian Identity,' the resurgence of nationalist inclinations in the area, the ethnic minorities (especially the Albanian one), the economy, and the regional (four neighboring states) as well as the international relations of FYROM.

The author will argue that prevention of conflict in FYROM is urgent for the stability of all the Balkans, and has to be coordinated from the international community towards all governmental and non-governmental actors involved. Integration of FYROM into European institutions provides a reliable measure. Respect and protection of human/civil rights of minorities, as well as democratization of the civilian sector are also dominant factors for the survival of the multi-ethnic nation. Ethnic minorities should finally develop proper political, social, and economic relationships with majority populations in order to work together for the common well being.

**KEYWORDS:** Security in the Balkans, Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM), New Macedonian Question, Multinational Communities in the Balkans, Albanian Ethnic Minority in FYROM

### **THE RUSSIAN NAVY AND THE FUTURE OF RUSSIAN POWER IN THE WESTERN PACIFIC**

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This thesis contends that the current attempts by the Russian Federation to assert its influence in the Western Pacific region through naval power are destined to fail. President Vladimir Putin appears determined to make the Russian Federation a prominent actor in the region through the assertion of Russian naval power, and by forming an alliance of convenience with the PRC to minimize U.S. influence in the region. Four reasons provide an explanation for what will be Moscow's ultimate failure to influence events in the Western Pacific region. First, historically Russia has proven unable to sustain a naval build-up. Second, Russia's major interests lie in the Europe. Third, the Russian Federation has limited common interests with the countries of the Western Pacific region beyond residual anti-Americanism. Finally, arms sales provide only short-term leverage in the projection of international influence.

**KEYWORDS:** Russian Navy, Soviet Navy, Russia, Reform, Western Pacific, Russian Pacific Fleet

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### **THE CRISIS OF 2005 -- THE ROLE OF U.S. NAVAL FORWARD PRESENCE IN THE EVOLUTION OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA AND THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA**

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This thesis assesses the potential of U.S. Naval Forward Presence in the Western Pacific to stabilize economic markets around the world in the event of a crisis in the South China Sea and the Taiwan Straits. It utilizes a scenario analogous to that of the 1995-96 Taiwan Strait crisis that it sets in the year 2005. The scenario utilizes existing military, political and economic conditions in the region to forecast likely behavior of the main actors. The thesis concludes that U.S. Naval Forward Presence is the vital ingredient to protect U.S. interests in the region, discourage crisis escalation, and stabilize world oil and financial markets.

**KEYWORDS:** China, Taiwan, U.S. Naval Forward Presence

### **STATE DEVELOPMENT IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA**

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The universal theory of state formation, as discussed by Weber, Tilly and others, is relevant and appropriate to Africa when properly applied. Africa has her own unique history and the variables affecting state development, such as land tenure, remain the same. The value of these variables is what differs from the European experience. As such, state development in Africa remains strikingly similar throughout its history. It is a struggle between the center and the periphery in which the center is hindered by three commonalities: lack of centralization, communal land ownership and patron-client systems. These commonalities worked against centralization, each building on the other and helping the periphery maintain a degree of independence rarely seen in other regions of the world. To understand modern Africa is to look at her past and see how remarkably constant her society has been. After reviewing the available literature, this thesis delves into Africa's past and shows how important it is to the understanding of her present condition. In the end, it will draw out both domestic and international policy implications for sub-Saharan Africa.

**KEYWORDS:** Africa, State Theory, Development, History

### **IS THE U.S. NAVY PREPARED TO COUNTER BIOLOGICAL WARFARE THREATS?**

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The biological warfare (BW) threat to U.S. Naval Surface Forces (NSF) is real but not well understood. Greater awareness about the threat is essential for U.S. NSF to establish key competencies to counter its effects. Commanding Officers (COs) and Officers in Tactical Command (OTCs) will be placed in positions where they must combat challenges from adversaries who will seek to use BW. This thesis identifies what can be done to enhance NSF capabilities to counter BW. Having neglected the BW threat,



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the U.S. Navy seeks to improve its preparedness by exploiting the development of key bio-defense systems. While some of these systems including Joint Portal Shield and the Joint Biological Point Detection System will soon be deployed, the Navy still lacks the doctrine, organizational modifications, training and education, and leadership to take advantage of these new technological systems.

This thesis suggests that *Local Unit Practices* (LPs) prescribed by COs and OTCs should be established to match each unit's capability and sustainability to the threat. To do so, U.S. NSF require an institutional revolution that maximizes doctrine and Tactics, Techniques, and Procedures (TTPs) which tie directly into LPs to provide the means for BW defense and protection.

**KEYWORDS:** Biological Weapons, Biological Warfare, BW, Navy Doctrine, Weapons of Mass Destruction, Naval BW Defense, Tactics, Techniques and Procedures (TTP), NBC Defense, Counter-Proliferation, Naval Surface Forces BW Readiness, Armed Forces BW Readiness, Consequence Management, Navy Defenses, Asymmetric Warfare

### NEW TERRORISM? A CASE STUDY OF AL-QAIDA AND THE LEBANESE HEZBOLLAH

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In recent years, scholars have argued that the last decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century saw the emergence of a new type of terrorism distinct from that which the world had suffered since 1968. The argument presented in this thesis is that there is no such thing as new terrorism. In spite of a few terrorist "spectaculars" in the last decade, the evidence suggests that in organizational and ideological terms, terrorism has changed little in the last 20 years. The case studies of *Al-Qaida* and the Lebanese *Hezbollah* are used to support this argument.

This thesis looks at key scholarly conceptualizations of new terrorism and applies these to *Al-Qaida* and the Lebanese *Hezbollah*. This study reveals that rather than conform to new terrorism, *Al-Qaida* can be better described as a traditional terrorist organization. Key similarities between *Al-Qaida* and the Lebanese *Hezbollah* show the continuity in international terrorism over the period of the last 20 years. This finding is important as the United States government ponders on the best approach in dealing with the current threat from *Al-Qaida* following the 11 September 2001 attacks.

**KEYWORDS:** *Al-Qaida*, *Hezbollah*, Terrorism, Osama Bin Laden, Weapons of Mass Destruction

### THE DEVELOPMENT OF CENTRAL ASIA THROUGH THE MIDDLE EAST

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This thesis contends that the Central Asian states of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan, and the Caucasian state of Azerbaijan will continue to be developed through the Middle East because of the ethnic, religious, cultural, and historical ties each republic holds with the region. Despite the perceived threat of Islamic fundamentalism, the Central Asian states and Azerbaijan will still seek foreign aid from the Middle East while attempting to mitigate the influence of foreign powers in their internal affairs. Because of growing U.S. interests in Central Asia and the Caspian Sea area, the U.S. will seek to become engaged and to expand its influence in the region through its Middle East ally, Turkey. Growing U.S. and Turkish influence will come at the expense of the former regional hegemon, Russia, and the historic Middle East power, Iran. This complex interaction between old and new powers has the

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potential of leading to conflict. An understanding of this complex relationship is important to any country that has an interest in the region.

**KEYWORDS:** Central Asia, Caucasasia, Middle East, Russia, Turkey, Iran, United States, Nagorno-Karabakh, Islamic fundamentalism

### VENEZUELA'S CHANGING FOREIGN POLICY TOWARDS THE UNITED STATES

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This thesis analyzes the changing relationship between the United States and Venezuela since 1980. In the last five years this relationship has become increasingly strained. The thesis takes a holistic approach and looks at international, domestic, and individual levels of analysis to determine the causal factors in Venezuela's shifting foreign policy. The findings suggest that the new international environment and Venezuela's petroleum reserves create the ability for Venezuela to slow integration with the United States. Domestic factors explain this approach as an attempt to protect different interest groups. At the individual level, President Chávez is a headline grabber but is not a significant source of bilateral tensions. The findings indicate that the new international environment and Venezuelan political and economic culture are the important variables in explaining Venezuela's relationship with the United States.

**KEYWORDS:** Asymmetrical Interdependence, Hugo Chávez Frias, Political Economy, United States-Venezuelan Relations, Venezuelan Foreign Policy, Washington Consensus